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anger. Yet I found that the slightest show of authority would immediately bring such a scene to an end. A man of influence in his village was probably generally equal to the task of keeping order and preventing any serious damage from taking place. It was probably rare for a man so far to give way to his anger as to kill his opponent.

Such murders did, however, occasionally take place[1]. The murderer would, as a rule, leave the camp and hide himself in the jungle, where he might be joined by such of his friends as were ready to take his part. It was left to the relatives and friends of the dead man to exact vengeance if they wished and if they could. If the murderer was a man who was much feared it is probable that he would escape. In any case the anger of the Andamanese is short-lived, and if for a few months he could keep out of the way of those who might seek revenge, it is probable that at the end of that time he would find their anger cooled.

A man who is liable to outbursts of violent anger is feared by his fellows, and unless he has other counterbalancing qualities, he is never likely to become popular. He is treated with outward respect, for every one is afraid of offending him, but he never acquires the esteem of others. There is a special nickname, *Tarenjek*, in the North Andaman, to denote such a man[2].

Quarrels were more likely to occur at the meetings of different local groups that took place in the fine weather, and such quarrels might occasionally end in the murder of some one. In such a case the quarrel would be taken up by the group

[1] The natives of the North Andaman were able to tell me of a few cases of murder which had occurred within the memory of those still living.

Mr Portman in his *History of Our Relations with the Andamanese* records a certain number of murders which occurred while he was in charge of the Andamanese. One man, who had been imprisoned at Port Blair for murder, committed another soon after his release and was hanged. Since that date there has been no case of murder among the Great Andaman tribes. This is perhaps in part due to the punishment with which they are now threatened by the Government, but another cause is probably the breakdown of the old social organisation which has in this respect rather improved their morals than the opposite.

[2] The nickname is applied, however, not only to those who deserve it by their character, but also to others; for instance, one man was called *Tarenjek* because his maternal uncle was a man of violent temper.

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585 ceremony may be seen by the on-lookers. The bridegroom is seated with his friends at the other end of the dancing ground. One of the older and more respected men addresses the bride, telling her that she must make a good wife, must provide for her husband such things as it is the duty of a wife to obtain or make, must see that he does not run after other women, and must herself remain faithful to him. He then addresses the bridegroom to the same effect, and taking him by the hand or arm, leads him to where the bride is seated and makes him sit down beside her. The relatives and friends weep loudly, and the young couple look very self-conscious and uncomfortable. The shyness of the young man is such that he often attempts to run away, but he is caught by his friends, who are prepared for such an attempt. After some minutes the officiating elder takes the arms of the bride and bridegroom and places them around each other's necks. After a further interval he again approaches and makes the bridegroom sit on the bride's lap[1]. They sit so for some minutes and the ceremony is over. The other members of the community generally have a dance on such an occasion, but in this the newly wedded pair do not join. A hut has already been prepared for them, and all their friends make them presents of useful objects with which to start housekeeping. They retire shyly to their new hut, while their friends continue dancing. The day after the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are decorated by their friends with white clay. For a few days the newly married couple are very shy of each other, hardly venturing to speak to or look at one another: but they soon settle down to their new position in the life of the community. During the early days of their marriage they are abundantly supplied with food by their friends. They are not addressed or spoken of by name, but if their names be A and B, the husband is called "the husband of B" while the wife is called "the wife of A."

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In the South Andaman the ceremony is much the same as in the North, the only difference being that the bridegroom is led to where the bride is sitting and is made to sit on her lap straightway, remaining there for a few minutes.

[1] When a husband and wife greet one another the man sits on the lap of the wife.

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It is not pretended that this division of social customs into three different kinds is of any great or permanent value, and it is only introduced as an aid to the exposition of the customs of the Andamanese. It will be argued in a later chapter that many of the customs described in the present chapter have a common psychological basis.

Of any customs in connection with the birth of children I was able to learn very little, as no births at which I could be present occurred during my stay at the islands. Earlier writers have given very little information on this subject.

During the latter part of the period of pregnancy, and for about a month after the birth of the child, the mother and father must observe certain restrictions. In particular there are certain foods that they may not eat. The statements of different informants on this matter did not quite agree with each other, and it seems that there were slightly different rules in different tribes. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant the man and woman may not eat dugong, honey and yams; they may eat the flesh of small but not of full-grown pigs and turtle. An informant of one of the Northern tribes said that the woman may not eat full-grown pig, *Paradoxurus*, turtle, dugong, the fish *komar*, monitor lizard, honey and yams; her husband may eat these things but must carefully avoid eating certain fishes.

The natives give two different reasons for these rules. One is that if these foods be eaten by the parents the child will be ill. The other is that the parents themselves will be ill. The latter is the explanation most commonly offered.

The baby is named some time before it is born, and from that time the parents are not addressed or spoken of by name. For example, if the name chosen be *Rea*, the father will be spoken of as *Rea aka-mai* (Rea's father) instead of by his own name. The mother may be referred to as *Rea it-pet*, from the word *it-pet* meaning "belly." This practice is continued till some weeks after the birth, when the use of the names of the parents is once more resumed.

In child-birth the woman is assisted by the matrons of the camp. She is seated in her hut in the village on fresh leaves, and a piece of wood is placed at her back for her to lean against.

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fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI.

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep.

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn.

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *ǰili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *ǰeru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter.

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the pudenda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others.

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolọt*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *akă-ndu-kolọt* for giris. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat.

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in

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The youth then returns to his hut and resumes his former position. He may now, if he wishes, talk to his friends and he may sleep. He must retain the bundles of *Hibiscus* leaves and the necklace and belt of *Pothos* leaves. The dance is sometimes repeated in the afternoon. It is in any case repeated on each of the two days following, and after that the youth resumes his ordinary life. For a week or two he may not touch a bow and arrow. The *Pothos* leaves are worn till they are faded and are then discarded. The paint on the body wears off and is not renewed, but his ears are kept painted with red paint. For some weeks the youth is supposed to be in an abnormal condition and is carefully watched by his friends.

At the turtle-eating ceremony a new name is given to the youth. This name, however, never seems to be used afterwards either in speaking of or to the person to whom it belongs. A youth of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe whose birth name was *Čop* (from a species of tree) and whose nick-name or second name was *Komar* (from a species of fish) had two new names given to him on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, *Čokbi-čiro* (meaning turtle-liver) and *Pilečar* (high-tide). Neither of these names was ever used in addressing him.

The turtle-eating ceremony is called in the Northern tribes either *Čokbi-ǰo*, *Čokbi-kimil*, or *Kimil-ǰo*. The word *čokbi* means "turtle," and *ǰo* means "eating." The word *kimil* is more difficult to translate. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it means "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot." From the time of the commencement of the ceremony the youth or girl is said to be in a condition denoted by the word *aka-kimil*. During this time, i.e. during the ceremony and for some months afterwards, he or she is not addressed or spoken of by name but is referred to as "*Kimil*," the word being thus used as a term of address or a substitute for the personal name. A person who is in this condition is described as *aka-kimil-kolọt*. (Before the ceremony the youth is *oko-taliŋ-kolọt* and the girl is *aka-ndu-kolọt*.) In the *Aka-Bea* tribe the turtle-eating ceremony is called *Yadi-gumul* or *Gumul-leke*, *yadi* being the word for "turtle" in that language, and *leke* being the equivalent of the *ǰo* of *Aka-J̌eru*, that is "eating." A youth or girl who is passing or has recently

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The essentials 765 302

of mourning are (1) the use of clay (*odu*), and (2) abstention from certain foods, from dancing, and from the use of white clay (*tol*) and red paint. As stated above, every adult in the camp covers himself or herself with clay on the death of an adult member of the community, but when this wears off, or is washed off in the course of two or three days, it is not renewed. The near relatives retain this covering of clay for many weeks, constantly renewing it. The clay is smeared evenly over the body, and is not put on in patterns, as on other occasions. The relatives, but not the others, plaster some of the same clay on their heads. A widow mourning for her husband covers her whole head with a thick layer of clay, renewing it from time to time. For a lesser degree of mourning, the custom is to plaster clay on the forehead only. After some weeks or months of mourning, the near relatives discontinue the use of clay on their bodies, but retain a band of clay over the forehead as shown in Plates IX, X, and XVII.

The name of the clay thus used is *odu* in the Northern languages, and a mourner is called *aka-odu*. In the *Aka-Bea* language the name of the clay is *og* and the term for a mourner is *aka-og*.

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During the period of mourning the name of the dead person is carefully avoided and no one uses it. If it is necessary to refer to the dead this is done by using some such phrase as "he who is buried by the big rock" or "he who is laid in the fig tree" or by mentioning the name of the place of burial. There is no prohibition against mentioning the name itself in other connections. Thus if a man were called *Buio*, from the name of a species of *Mucuna*, it is not necessary to avoid the word *buio* when speaking of the plant. Further if there is another person alive of the same name as the dead man it is not necessary to avoid the name in referring to the living individual. The custom is that a dead person must not be spoken of unless it is absolutely necessary, and then must not be spoken of by name. After the period of mourning is over the dead person may again be spoken of by name.

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During the period of mourning a near relative of the deceased is never addressed or spoken of by name. There are certain

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as an essential part of the ceremony. The female relatives of a youth or girl who is being initiated come and weep over him or her at the turtle-eating ceremony. Their friends weep over, or with, the mourners at the dance at the end of mourning. The friends of a bride and bridegroom weep over them when they are married. The friends and relatives weep over a corpse before it is buried and over the bones when they are recovered. In all cases it is real weeping. The man or woman sits down and wails or howls, and the tears stream down his or her face. On one occasion I asked the natives to show how it was done and two or three of them sat down and were immediately weeping real tears at my request. The weeping in this way is really a ceremony or rite. When two friends or relatives meet who have been separated from one another for a few weeks or longer, they greet each other by sitting down, one on the lap of the other, with their arms around each other's necks, and weeping and wailing for two or three minutes till they are tired. Two brothers greet each other in this way, and so do father and son, mother and son, mother and daughter, and husband and wife. When husband and wife meet, it is the man who sits on the lap of the woman. When two friends part from one another, one of them lifts up the hand of the other towards his mouth and gently blows on it.

Reference has already been made in this chapter to a number of customs relating to personal names. It will be useful to bring together the scattered references, and give a general account of the whole matter.

Every Andaman Islander has a personal name that is given to him or her before birth, and which we may speak of as the birth-name. As soon as a woman realises that she is pregnant, she and her husband begin to think of a name for the child. The name is selected by the parents, but the suggestions of their friends and relatives are always considered. It is regarded as a compliment to name the child after some man or woman. Sometimes a man may request the parents that the child shall be named after him, and such a request is rarely, if ever, refused. The names given before birth are of course applicable to both sexes, there being no difference between

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551 553 the names of men and those of women. There are a considerable number of names in common use, but some of them are more popular at a given time and place than others. It therefore happens that there are several persons, both men and women, bearing the same name.

551 Each of the names in common use has a meaning, but it is not always easy to obtain an adequate and accurate explanation of the meaning from the natives themselves[1]. In a certain number the derivation is obvious. Many names are the names of objects such as trees, fish or other animals, or even such objects as rope or mats. A few examples from the North Andaman are:—

Buio	*Mucuna sp.*, a plant with edible beans.
Bol	*Hibiscus tiliaceus.*
Čop	a tree with edible nuts.
Konmo	*Dioscorea sp.*
Čokbi	turtle.
Maro	honey.
Meo	a stone.
Čeo	a knife.
Pani	the oriole.

In the case of a number of names it is not possible to discover with certainty the derivation, and the statements of the natives regarding them do not always agree. Such names in the North Andaman, with their meanings as stated by the natives, are:—

Kea	one who turns in his sleep.
Boičo	one who wrestles.
Elpe	one who comes and goes.
Kijeri	one who walks backwards and forwards.
Nimi	one who catches hold.

Some time after a child is born it is given a nick-name. Nick-names may be given at any time of life, and some persons may have several nick-names given to them at different times. New nick-names are from time to time invented, but there are

[1] Mr M. V. Portman gives a list of personal names in use in the South Andaman in his *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 70. The derivations of many of the names as there given, are, however, of doubtful accuracy.

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a certain number of recognized names from which a choice is usually made. A few examples from the North Andaman are :— 551

Ra-t'ot-betč	pig's hair.
Renya-čope	much baggage, or many possessions.
Poičo-tomo	the wood (literally flesh) of the *Sterculia* (*poičo*) tree.
Lau-tei	spirit blood.
Luremo	rope.
Remu-toi	a piece of iron.
Čokbi-čiro	turtle liver.
Tarenjek	angry.

During childhood boys and girls are addressed by either the birth-name or the nick-name.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she receives a new name. This is one of a limited number of names, each of which is the name of a tree or plant. The name given to the girl is that of the tree or plant that is in flower at the time of her first menstruation. 551 553 824

There is a succession of trees and plants flowering one after another throughout the year. The natives describe the different parts of the year by reference to the plants in flower at the time. The plants selected as typical of the different seasons all have flowers from which the native bees make honey. Each of them has a distinctive scent and gives to the honey made from it a distinctive flavour. The flower-names are given below in *Aka-Bea* and *Aka-Jeru*.

Aka-Bea	Aka-Jeru	
Čilipa	*Čelibi*	From the middle of November to the middle of February.
Moda	*Mukui*	From the middle of February to the middle of May, in order.
Ora	*Okor*	
Jidga		
Yere	*Jeru*	
Pataka	*Botek*	
Balya	*Puliu*	
Reče	*Re*	From the middle of May to the end of August.
Čagara	*Čokoro*	
Čarapa	*Čarap*	September, October and the first half of November.
Čenra	*Torok?*	
Yulu	*Jili*	

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551 553 From the time that a girl receives her flower-name her birth-name and nick-name fall entirely out of use. No one would address an unmarried girl by any name except the flower-name. This continues until some time after the girl is married. Properly speaking a woman should be known by her flower-name from the advent of puberty until after the birth of her first child. In these days of childless women the flower-name drops out of use after a few years of married life. After the birth of her first child the woman is known by her birth-name or by a nick-name. Thus a woman who was named before her birth *Kaba* (from *kabal*, a species of mangrove) was called by that name until puberty; thereafter she was called *J̌ili* (her flower-name) until the birth of her first child; after this event she is again called *Kaba*, and no one would think of addressing her as *J̌ili*. A woman named *Ele* (lightning) at birth was known by this name until puberty, and thereafter was called *Bǫtek*. When I knew her she had been married for three years or so, but had not had a child. A few of the younger men and women addressed her as *Ele*, but the older people still called her *Bǫtek*. If she should bear a child, the name *Bǫtek* would fall entirely out of use and she would be known as *Ele* by both her juniors and her seniors.

In the case of a boy there is nothing corresponding to the flower-names of girls. He continues to be known by his birth-name and his nick-name from the time he is born until he dies. During adolescence a youth has to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation as described in the present chapter. At the turtle-eating ceremony the youth is given a new name, of the nature of a nick-name. The name given in this way is never used either in addressing the youth or in speaking of him. It is possible that he also receives a new name on the occasion of the pig-eating ceremony, but of this I am not sure. Though girls pass through the same ceremonies as boys, I did not discover whether or not they also are given new names on these occasions.

551 Names are used freely in speaking of and to one another. An older person always speaks of or to the younger one by the name alone. When a younger person is speaking to an older one it is customary and polite to use one of the terms of address,

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either by itself, or prefixed to the name of the person spoken to, as *Maia Buio*, *Mimi Kaba*, etc. A native generally hesitates to tell his own name, and if asked the question "What is your name?" often asks a bystander to give the required information. There is, however, no hesitation about mentioning the name of any other person, except under certain special conditions.

There are certain occasions when the name of a man or woman is temporarily avoided. After the death of a relative and during the period of mourning, a mourner's name is not mentioned, either in speaking to him or of him. There are a few terms that may be used instead. One who has lost a parent is addressed as *Bolok*, one who has lost a brother or sister as *Ropuč*. For a short time before and after the birth of a child the names of the father and mother are not mentioned. A bride and bridegroom are not addressed or spoken of by name for a short period after their marriage, though if their names be A and B there seems to be no harm in referring to A as "the husband of B," or to B as "the wife of A." During the initiation ceremonies through which every boy and girl must pass, the name of the initiate is avoided. Thus on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony, during the few days the ceremony lasts and for a few weeks afterwards, the youth or girl is never addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Kimil*. During the ceremony that takes place on the occasion of the advent of puberty, and for some weeks after, a girl is not spoken of or to either by her birth-name or her flower-name, but is called *Toto*. When a boy, in the Northern tribes, has the scars made on his back, which show him to be no longer a child, his name is avoided for a few weeks and he is called *Ejido*.

The name of a dead man or woman is not mentioned during the period of mourning, which lasts for some months after the death.

In the preceding portions of the chapter reference has been made several times to the ornamentation of the body with clay and pigment. In the Great Andaman three different substances are used for painting the body. These are (1) a common clay of which different specimens are gray, yellow or pink, called *odu*

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which the mourners are welcomed back to the society, just as returning friends are welcomed after an absence. It has nothing whatever to do, I believe, with the dead person for whom they have been mourning, but is merely an expression of solidarity between those still alive. Dancing and the decorations used in the dance, I have argued, are means by which the society expresses its own unity, and makes the individual realise what it means to be one of a group, so that in this dance we see the society once more coming together to continue its common life, and compelling those who have been cut off from it to feel, even against their inclinations, that they have become once more units of the social body. After this ceremony the mourners are relieved from the restrictions to which they were subjected.

In order to complete this discussion of the burial customs it is necessary to explain why a person's name should be dropped from use after his death, and although this will require a digression of some length, this seems the most convenient point at which to deal with it. There is a very special relation between the name of anything and its fundamental characteristics, which in logic we describe by saying that the latter are included in the connotation of the name. The way in which the Andamanese represent this relation to themselves is shown in one of the legends. At a time when the ancestors did not know either the names or the uses of the different objects to be found in their country, one of them, *Da Tegat* by name, walked through the forest enquiring of the objects he met what were their names. From most of them he received no reply, but the yam and the resin replied to him and gave him their names. The legend shows that as soon as the hero of the tale knew the name of the yam he immediately knew that it was of use as a food and that it required to be cooked in a particular way, although he was till then ignorant of those important properties. Similarly, having discovered the name of the resin he knew that it could be made into a torch and so used to give light.

There is, to the mind of the Andaman Islander, a somewhat similar and very important connection between a person's name and what is here called his social personality, and this is exhibited in the customs whereby the name is avoided on certain

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occasions. A consideration of the different instances will show, I think, that the name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society. At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed.

From the moment of her first menstruation to the date of her marriage, or more strictly to the date of her first parturition, the birth-name of a woman is dropped from use and she is called by her flower-name. A woman only attains her complete social personality as a mother. As a child she has not the power to become a mother. She acquires that power at her first menstruation and therefore from that time until this new virtue is actively exercised she is in a position in which one of her virtues, one of the qualities making up her social personality, is in abeyance. Therefore her name (her birth-name) is not used and she is given a temporary name in its place, a flower-name. She is, as it were, in blossom, and only when her body ripens to its fruit is she a complete woman.

At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken. Similarly during and after the turtle-eating or the pig-eating ceremony he is addressed and spoken of by the name *Kimil*. The explanation of these customs is that at these times the initiate is in an abnormal position by reason of the ceremony that has taken place, and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. After the initiation ceremony, for example, the youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some weeks (the bow being the typical masculine implement).

The names of a newly-married couple are avoided for a few days after their marriage. Marriage produces an important change in the social personality, and this change is expressed in the marriage ceremony, but all such changes take time, and it is some days at

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X 182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X 182 551 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Čokbi-čiro*, turtle-liver, *Čokbi-tci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X 182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

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it will when he lives only in the memory of his friends, the name is not used. After the mourning period is over the name may again be used.

In general then, it may be said that at any period in which a person is undergoing a critical change in his condition in so far as it affects the society his name falls out of use, to be resumed when the period of change is over. The reason for this is that during such periods of change the social personality is suppressed or latent and therefore the name which is closely associated with the social personality must be suppressed also.

The customs of burial and mourning are therefore seen to be not simply the result of natural feelings of fear and sorrow but ritual actions performed under a sense of obligation and strictly regulated by tradition. They are means by which the society acts upon its members, compelling them to feel emotions appropriate to the occasion. Since the dead person has, by his death, become a cause of social disruption, all contact with him must be avoided. But the dead man had a certain value to the society, and as a thing of any kind cannot be valued unless its loss is felt as a source of pain, so if the community did not mourn when it lost one of its members that feeling of the social value of individuals on which the existence of the society depends would soon diminish in strength, thereby weakening the social cohesion.

It is now possible for us to understand the Andamanese beliefs about the spirits. The basis of these beliefs, I wish to maintain, is the fact that at the death of an individual his social personality (as defined above) is not annihilated, but is suddenly changed. This continuance after death is a fact of immediate experience to the Andaman Islanders and not in any way a deduction. The person has not ceased to exist. For one thing his body is still there. But above all he is still the object of the social sentiments of the survivors, and thereby he continues to act upon the society. The removal of a member of the group is felt not as something negative but as the positive cause of great social disturbance.

The spirits are feared or regarded as dangerous. The basis of this fear is the fact that the spirit (i.e. the social personality of a person recently dead) is obviously a source of weakness and disruption to the community, affecting the survivors through their

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5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation.

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai·a* or *mai·ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chān·a*[1] or *chā·nola* takes the place of *mai·a* and *mai·ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,[2] the place of *mar;* these terms, *mai·a*, *chān·a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.[3] Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"[4] points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils*.

7. In a table I have prepared,[5] and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,[6] brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, while a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm*[7] is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption.

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters.

Proper Names.—1. One of the alleged[8] peculiarities of the

[1] Not "*Chomal*," as given by Dr. Day.

[2] *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.

[3] "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)

[4] *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.

[5] *Vide* Appendix I.

[6] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 286.

[7] This term is likewise employed in addressing a chief.

[8] *Vide* Tickell.

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Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,[1] the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names[2] are common to both sexes,[3] no difficulty arises on this score.

3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *dô'ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *dô'ra-ô'ta-*, or, if a girl, *dô'ra-kà'ta-*. These terms (*ô'ta-* and *kà'ta-*[4]) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *dô'ra-dâ'la-*, and the girl as *dô'ra-pō'ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ūn-lâ'wi-* or *â'kà-lâ'wi-*, and receives a "flower" name[5] as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees[6] which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *chā'laga-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *dô'ra-pō'ilola* would become *chā'gara*[7] *dô'ra*, and this double name would cling

[1] When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wō'loga*): *.wō'loga dab-ō'jolake, Wō'loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wō'loga dab-ngō'towake, Wō'loga* is clawing me, or, *.wō'loga ē'to-yārke, Wō'loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pij-jā'bag-*, which signifies "bad hairs"; the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the fœtus.

[2] These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

[3] A man calls a male namesake { if his senior, *mai'a tingʻla*. if his equal or junior } *mar tingʻla*,
" " female " *chāa tingʻla*.
A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name } *dā ōt-ting-ā'te-gā'te-* (my-name-which-who).
A woman calls a male namesake { if her senior, *mai'a* (his name) *tingʻla*. if her equal or junior } *mar* (his name) *tingʻla*.
" " female " if her senior, *chāa tingʻla*.
" " " " if her equal or junior } (her name) *tingʻla*.
Signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

[4] Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

[5] Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

[6] Euphonic corruption of *ai'lāga-*.

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to the girl until she married and was a mother,[1] then the "flower" name would give way to the more dignified term *chān·a* (madam or mother) *.dô·ra;* if childless, a woman has generally to pass a few years of married life before she is called *chān·a*,[2] after which no further change is made in her name.

4. In consequence of this system, as it rarely happens that in one community two women are found bearing the same "flower" *and* birth names, there is little chance of confusion arising.

5. Since no equivalent custom exists with regard to men,[3] nicknames are given which generally indicate some personal peculiarity, as, for instance, *.bī·a-pâg-* (*Bī·a-*, foot, he having large feet), *.bal·a-jō·bo-* (*Bal·a-*, snake, he having lost a hand from a snake-bite), *.pū·nga-dâ·la* (*Pū·nga-*, good-looking), and so on. All these names cling to the bearer for life, especially if they refer to some physical deformity.

6. Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.*, calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *.t·ra*, and who had married a woman called *.tū·ra*, they would say *chān·a .tū·ra;* if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *.wō·loga* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name, and the expectant mother *.wō·loga-būd-*[4] until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *mai·a .wō·loga;* while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *.wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-* in the case of her child being a girl), and by her juniors as *chān·a .wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-*).[5]

Initiatory Ceremonies.—1. On or soon after reaching puberty, the fast[6] which has been kept during the few previous years (or in some cases, months) is broken; and instead of the affix *dâ·la*, the prefix *gū·ma*[7] (denoting in this connection a neophyte or

[1] From the account given under "Marriage," paragraph 4, it will be inferred that in many cases she has not long to wait.

[2] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[3] In a few cases nicknames are bestowed on women.

[4] *būd-* signifies house, habitation.

[5] For further information on the subject of proper names and terms applied to men and women, *vide* sections on "Relationships" and "Initiatory Ceremonies," and Appendices I and K.

[6] *Vide* section on "Tabu."

[7] In Dr. Day's paper the following passage occurs:—"The youthful swain eats a peculiar kind of ray-fish termed *goom-dâ*, which gives him the title to the appellation of *goo-mo*, signifying, 'a bachelor desirous of marrying.' Girls arriving at a marriageable age . . . . (*vide* footnote 5 on previous page). Before marrying, young men take a species of oath, after which they sit very still for several days, scarcely taking any food." Plausible as this explanation

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557 881 novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed as *mar*[1] *gū·ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū·ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai·a*[2] (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai·ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai·a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.[3]

881 262 2. The *â·kà-yâ·p-*, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey, pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food[4] are *choses défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *â·kà-yâ·b-* makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *â·kà-yâ·p-* is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *yâ·dî-* (turtle) *gū·mul-*, 2nd, the *â·ja-* (honey) *gū·mul-*, and 3rd, the *req-jî·ri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gū·mul-*.[5]

4. When the youth is permitted and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*bûj-*[6]) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gûm-*, a ray-fish, and *gū·ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

[1] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[2] As with the term *châ·a* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

[3] Both before and after the *â·kà-yâ·p-* the individual *is* said to be *bô·tiga-*.

[4] These comprise the flesh of the iguana and paradoxurus, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ôi gum-*), and a smaller insect called *bû·tu-*.

[5] It will thus be seen that the *gū·mul-* answers very much to the Australian "born," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst." vol. ii. p. 269, 1873).

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

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prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *ràu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *.châ·ità·n-* (Hades).[1]

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccoughing, spitting, or eructating, and hissing[2] is unknown.

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at ——" (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days.

21. A small striped snake, called *là·raba-*, is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kòi·ob-chūluga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chūluga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours.

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pi·chrō·l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *ū·chu-*,[3] so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *ràtegi-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraphs 22 and 23.

[2] This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

[3] A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.

APPENDIX H.

LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

Proper names (*common to both sexes*).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect) in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.		Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
.bal·ŧa	.kät·iola	.chŧ·lipa ...	lē·kera-	lē·kera-wdò-[1] ...		pd·par-, also pd·par-wdò-	The "*pd·par-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*.
.bô·ra	.lô·ra		chŧ·lip-	chŧ·lip-wdò- ...			[1] "*wdò*" signifies "season."
.bē·rebi	.lī·pa	.mō·da ...	pd-...	pd-wdò-			
.bī·a	.lō·kola		jôr-	jôr-wdò-			The "*yē·re-bō·do-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, *viz.*, till about the middle of May.
.bi·elo	.mē·ba	.ô·ra	ô·ro-	ô·ro-wdò-		yē·re-bō·do-, also rdp-wdò-[2]	[2] Lit., *season of abundance*.
.bī·ra	.mē·bola	jī·dga ...	jī·dga-	jī·dga-wdò- ...			[3] This period is called "*lad·a-chàu-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jī·ni-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
.bī·rolo	.ñgō·ngala		tā·tib-	tā·tib-wdò- ...			
.bū·lbula	.nid·ll	.yē·re... ...	yē·re-	yē·re-wdò- ...	3		
.bū·rla	.pūr·ila		bā·ja-	bā·ja-wdò- ...			
.bū·rûga	.pō·tya	.pō·taka	pā·tak-	pā·tak-wdò- ...			
.chā·rmila	.pō·wiola	.bal·ya	bai·la-	bai·la-wdò- ...			
.chē·tla	.pū·nga	.rī·che ...	rī·che-	rī·che-wdò- ...			This season embraces the (4) *tā·la-tòng dē·reka-* (lit., *fresh foliage*) or *spring*, and (5) *gū·mul-wdò-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the Spring but the *first half* of the *rainy monsoon*. The latter (*gū·mul-wdò-*) lasts about 2½ months viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the *rainy monsoon*. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (6) the *bū·tu-* (a slug found in rotten logs of Gurjon wood) and (7) the *òi·yum-* (larva of the Great Capricornis beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *tō·pnga-* (breaking off).
.dē·ra	.rī·a		chā·dak-	chā·dak-wdò- ...	4	gū·mūl-	
.gū·lat	.rī·cla	.chā·gara	chā·langa- ...	chā·langa-wdò- ...			
.I·ra	.tō·tūl	.chār·apa ...	bū·tu-[6]	tō·pnga-wdò- ...			
.I·rola	.tū·ra		chā·rap-	chā·rap-wdò- ...			
.jā·ra	.wē·i	.chen·ra ...	òi·yum-[7]	òi·yum-lō·pnga-wdò-	5		
.jō·plol·	.wōi·chola		chen·ara-	chen·ara-wdò· ...			
.kā·la	.wō·loga						
kāt·ya	.yē·ua	.yū·lu ...	rdr-	rdr-wdò-			
			yū·lu-	yū·lu-wdò- ...			

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881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

● 551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kato*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development.

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Meliorma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Reche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Loea sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it.

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together."

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly.

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2 Onge

torches for hunting by night. There were pigs everywhere. In half an hour we often got six or more of them. At Chemalē, far from the coast, we had eleven in a few minutes for distribution to everybody, including roaming Onge. Pigeons and ducks also were often plentiful. The simple pleasures of hunting incited everyone to a spontaneous daily struggle through the dense forest; and so, every month, I managed to carry out many times the work I could have done had I not kept all the men glad to follow me. On seven different occasions I spent 162 days in Little Andaman, out of a total of 634 days altogether in the Andamanese Archipelago – all of them given up to Onge research. These trips are recorded in Port Blair Government offices. A few details on the subject are published in the "Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology", Government of India, starting in Vol. II, No. 1, 1953 (issued in 1956) and extended to other issues. Such papers were hurriedly prepared by me while I was halting in Calcutta on my way from the Andamans to Europe. Press proofs could never be submitted to me; there are, consequently, many misprints, particularly in the figures relating to my Onge Census. The misprints are so obvious that they could only influence a most biased critic: to be discussed in future papers and while my Onge book is in preparation. In Port Blair (South Andaman) I started an Onge Museum with material collected by me. I had the honour of inaugurating it on 6 July, 1953 in the presence of the Chief Commissioner for Andamans and Nicobars, Mr. A. K. Ghosh, one of the kindest and most intelligent Indian gentlemen that it was my pleasure to meet in Asia. On 9 March, 1954 Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD, President of the Republic of India, also visited the Museum. On that occasion I introduced to him 30 of my Onge friends (wives, husbands and children) in their most natural attire. The President questioned me at length on Onge anthropology and ethnology with the pertinence of a specialist.

While in Little Andaman I tried to study all possible aspects of Onge life. I also tried to count the natives; a very difficult task for they are a nomadic people, ready to vanish into the jungle at any moment. Often I was surrounded by them without seeing a single one. In the darkness of their jungle, the small, black, naked Onge easily disappear. They see us but we do not see them. They can only be counted in their sleeping quarters in communal huts; even so, results are misleading. I found a number of communal huts in the interior regions of Little Andaman, whereas previously they were said to exist only on the coast. The larger, more solidly built huts are in the forest. With the help of my Indian assistants I obtained plans and photographs of all the huts that I saw. Unfortunately the number of Onge communal huts is rapidly diminishing – a very significant fact. Many are in ruins, many more completely destroyed. Only kitchen-middens and occasional clusters of planted bamboo indicate their former location. Through an interpreter, and with two Onge speaking a little Hindi, I was able to gather information on these and other matters. Direct observation, however, proved the best way of gaining knowledge. In some places there was nothing to help me, and I was compelled to guess about communal huts whose inmates chose to hide in the jungle. Of the many personal names that I collected I must say that they are reliable only for a short period: the Onge like to change their names from time to time. All this, in addition to the Onge's nomadic way of life, causes great confusion and makes a proper Census almost impossible. Frequent changing of names also hinders the establishment of genealogies. Furthermore, the Onge custom of adopting children shifts many of them from one family to another, and adoptive parents invariably claim them as their own offspring. The parents themselves, who are ignorant of numbers, not infrequently forget how many children they have, who these children are and where they are located. It was almost useless to follow previous information concerning communal huts; and so I decided to consider mainly the situation existing at the time of my visits. The result of my Census may be imperfect, but before criticizing it it would be advisable to know the conditions that prevail in anthropological work among the Onge. Something more than merely counting people, anyhow, was achieved by me in Little Andaman.

In this short paper I am pleased to present a peculiar aspect of Onge life, an aspect that these innocent and once hostile people did not attempt to hide from me, though they also told me nothing about it. Only direct observation could help, and it involved pro-

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.